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584 bashfulness. As a matter of fact, it was obvious, though not avowed, that a considerable amount of choice could be exercised by a woman, if desired, in that she could very probably get the man she wanted to enter into a clandestine association with her, which might eventually lead to marriage, as will be shown in a subsequent paragraph.

●832 In discussing with the men what physical attributes they considered desirable in their women, it emerged that they prefer a light skin, specially one with a reddish tinge, which is much less common than the darker browns. The effect produced by cicatrization (this is described in detail on pp. 426–32) is also admired. 'That is a fine girl, she has marks all over her body,' is a typical expression of admiration. Upstanding, hemispherical breasts were also mentioned as adding to a girl's attractiveness. This characteristic is only to be found in girls who have not yet borne a child, after this the breasts sag and rapidly lose their beauty. Several girls singled out by name by various men of the village as being especially attractive physically, confirmed the verbal description given above (see Pl. 10).

It was more difficult to get the women to describe their ideal of male beauty. They do not like their men too thin, or too old. Some said they preferred men with little or no hair on their bodies. But, in general, they seem to attach more importance to the attainments of a man as a hunter or fisherman than to his physical attributes.

MARRIAGE OF BROTHER'S WIDOW

587 Additional wives are not infrequently acquired by virtue of the custom that the brother of a dead man has the first claim upon his widow or widows, for whom he is not required to pay over any ceremonial currency. He is not absolutely obliged to take her. If there are several, they may be distributed among the brothers, or among other relatives also standing to the dead man in the relationship *kiar*—usually his ortho-cousins (mother's sister's sons). None of these need pay over any ceremonial currency in respect of the wives thus acquired by them. Whether a man takes over his dead brother's wives or not, depends partly upon whether he likes them, and partly on whether he can afford to keep them and their children. Sometimes other considerations weigh with him also. Patchip of Tabut has not married his brother's widow,

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PLATE 10

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b. TARUBI

a. IRA

THE BELLES OF THE VILLAGE

[Facing p. 108]

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595 been dead for some years. Pinari had nothing to say about these two women.

[586] 5, 6. Esa and Tchinawat. Both these women were divorced by Pinari shortly after marriage because they did not get on with his chief wife Rusu. Pinari said he told them: 'If you are not cross you can stay, if you are cross you can go back to your own home, I don't like you any more.' Eventually his brother Boie married both of them; when he died they went back to their own village. Both are now dead.

[588] 7. Gomar. Was married as a child to Sarumpots, the son of Pinari's mother by another husband. He was eaten by a shark before she had had any children by him. This marriage was highly irregular (it is discussed on p. 76), but having taken place, Pinari's succession to her as his brother's widow was quite in order. She is now Pinari's chief wife, since the death of Rusu. Pinari liked her, and made magic to gain her love.[1] They seem to get on very well together, though she now takes second place in his regard, I think, to Kwimau. Her first child died when a few days old. The second is now in her early twenties. Then she lost four in infancy, and has now an infant about a year old.

[832]

[588] 8. Kwimau, whom he married after nos. 5 and 6 had been divorced. This marriage was also irregular, since she is Pinari's mother's brother's daughter (*pi'an*), usually a forbidden relationship (see Chap. II). Pinari says they liked each other so much that he had to take her. She is markedly his favourite; he usually occupies her hut, shows her great deference, and chooses her as his companion on various occasions. She has two sons by him, both still quite little.

9. Kumun. A commoner belonging to this village. She married a man belonging to a village about ten miles off, and lived there till he died. Then she came back to live with her grandfather at Kurtatchi, and Pinari took a fancy to her and 'bought' her from him. She has had three children by her first husband and one by Pinari, but all are dead.

[837] She has a reputation for carrying on intrigues with other men, and after one of the villagers was found in her hut, Pinari took her away to live at the taro garden for a long time. When I left she was pregnant. Pinari declared the child was not his, but she refused to admit that any one else was responsible for it. Pinari was very angry about it, but it seemed to me to be more because his dignity was outraged by the fact that some one had dared to interfere with his—the *tsunaun*'s—wife, in his own hut, than because he cared much for Kumun. She is, I think, very highly sexed, and was much freer with speech and gesture in public than most of the women. She is known to make assignations for other women with their lovers.

10. Kamits. Had been the wife of a man named Soli, by whom she

[1] The magic he used is recorded on p. 121.

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837 578 woman answered: 'She is angry with her husband, because he has gone to meet another woman in the bush.'

Sometimes the lover is bold enough to come to the woman in her own hut. This, if discovered, very considerably aggravates the offence. In the case of Kumun, referred to on p. 112, it seemed to me that Pinari was hardly more angry over the pregnancy itself than he was over the fact that she and her lover had been together in the hut. It turned out that some one who was in their confidence had betrayed them, and Gerigir was caught standing beside her bed while she was lying on it. He made a great point of the fact that he was not lying down with her, but in the end he paid a length of *imun* to Pinari as compensation, though both vehemently denied that he was the father of her expected child. Pinari, however, was not appeased by the payment, even though he accepted it, and Gerigir was still in disgrace when I left, three months later.

837 538 Endless tales are told about such intrigues. A common incident in them is that the child of one of the pair, angry with its parent, perhaps for not giving it something it wanted, spies on the couple, and goes and tells the husband or wife, as the case may be, of its parent's lover what is going on. Whether this happens in real life as often as it does in the tales, I do not know, but it is certain that the children often have a pretty shrewd idea of the state of affairs.

837 Cases of what would in our own society be described as 'enticement' sometimes occur. I select the following instance, which is not an isolated one, from my files: Erut was married to Masor, a man belonging to another village. Pasab, of Kurtatchi, whose [832] first wife was dead, wanted her, and made love magic with *magor* (see p. 121) to cause her to leave her husband and come to him. She did so; her husband divorced her, was given back his ceremonial currency, and Pasab married her. They have one little girl. I saw a good deal of their family life, and thought the relations between them, both with each other and with the child, were extremely good. They are always working in one another's company, seem very happy together, and I have not heard any gossip about either of them, which is rather unusual.

593

832 824 If a man wishes to have his wife back, he may try the following 'medicine':

If your wife has run away with another man, chew the rootlet of the plant *wapiu* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture, and spit the mixture

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on to the doors of your house. Your wife will then love you again and will come back to you.

Often but little notice is taken of these affairs. Occasionally an injured husband will claim from his wife's lover a string of ceremonial currency or a pig, or he may take the opportunity to divorce his wife, but usually only if he wishes to do so on other grounds. More often nothing is done about it, unless the woman becomes pregnant.

There are a number of plants (see pp. 134–8) believed to possess contraceptive properties, which are generally known and widely used by the women in their intrigues. Whatever the reason, it is certain that these affairs are followed by pregnancy less often than might be expected. When conception does occur, the matter begins to be taken seriously. Sometimes the woman will pretend that the child is her husband's, and this will be tacitly accepted, even though other people besides the couple and the woman's husband know it to be false. This I have on hearsay evidence only. In other cases—this also I have only through informants, but from more than one, and these reasonably reliable—attempts are made to produce an abortion in order to avoid discovery. One account given to me runs as follows: 'If a woman has been with her lover in the bush and finds she is pregnant, she says to him: "My blood is not flowing, I think I am going to have a child, I have had no flow for one moon." They are ashamed, and talk about it for a long time. Then the man gets the leaves of the *karēb* plant (a tough creeper of the *Rutaceae* order, whose stems are used for making string), and chews them with lime, and rubs the mixture on the women's abdomen. She swallows some of it, and it causes the flow to begin again. Then the man says to all the people who laughed at the woman because they thought she was pregnant: "Look, she is menstruating, she is not pregnant".' It may be that the massaging of the abdomen is sufficiently violent to produce the desired effect, without presupposing any actual result of chewing the *karēb* leaves. They say that a woman will never bring about an abortion in the case of a child by her own husband, however many she may have. But they do it for the children of their lovers, because if a woman has a child by a man other than her husband she is ashamed. Cases have occurred in the past of women pregnant by their lovers committing suicide by jumping from the top of a tree.

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837 attention. She herself behaved throughout as if nothing was the matter, and the affair blew over.'

In this case, public opinion, both male and female, was definitely against Tarubi, who was held responsible. Although most of the people who condemned her were carrying on—or had at some time carried on—similar affairs of their own, it seemed to be regarded as bad form to overdo it. Matarē, in discussing the case with me, said in so many words that it was all right to have a love affair with one person, but it was bad to have more than one. On another occasion similar judgement was passed against a man for the same [753] reason. He had a reputation for carrying on with a number of women, and when he developed a bad mastoid abscess, it was held to be due to 'poison' made by some of the men whose wives he had 'stolen'. The general opinion was that he richly deserved it; the sympathy generally shown to a person who is seriously ill was not accorded him, and no one, except his old mother, seemed to be sorry when he died. But perhaps, in both cases, the chief crime was to be found out!

COURTSHIP AND LOVE-MAGIC

584 The advances which lead up to such intrigues as have just been described provide the only occasion in this society for anything of the nature of courtship, since the pre-arranged marriage of children leaves no opening for it, and the demand of an older man for a woman he fancies as his second or subsequent wife can hardly be so described. In some cases efforts are made by the man to ingratiate himself with the woman so that she will be willing to marry him. But these cases were few, or at least so I gathered from discussions both with men and women.

●832 A man who wishes to gain the favours of a woman decks his person with aromatic plants, or rubs them on his skin, trims his hair, and decorates himself with paint. All these things may be done by anybody at any time, so his appearance need excite no remark. He finds an opportunity, often during a dance, to indicate his desires to the woman, and if she is willing, they steal away into the bush. He does not trust to his own personal charms to achieve this end, but supplements his own efforts with an appeal to higher powers to help him, or at least with the use of the appropriate 'medicine'. This is called *ēto*, the same word as is used for the preparations used in hunting, fishing, and other magic, as well as

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for medicines for healing sickness, these being all in the same category in the native's mind. I have a large number of such 'prescriptions' in my collection, some given me under pledge of secrecy. It will be noted that some of them also include an antidote, for use when the affair has become tiresome. Incidentally, I gathered that they may, sometimes, attract the wrong woman.

Both the two most powerful magical substances known to these natives, *sisiwa* and *magor* (see pp. 474–6), are employed in love-magic, and also a vast array of plants, many having aromatic properties which are doubtless the cause of their being selected.

Sisiwa is used in the following manner:

To make a woman love you, get some leaves of the plant *rarakot* and powder some *sisiwa* on to them. Rub the two together and smear the mixture on to a piece of tobacco which you then give to the woman whom you desire. Then take a little more *sisiwa* and make it hot over the fire. As she smokes the tobacco, and as the *sisiwa* gets hot, so she will become warmed towards you, and the next day she will come to you. She will be hot with desire for you, and you will copulate and copulate and copulate. When you are tired of her, and want the affair to come to an end, take a little *sisiwa* and put it into water, her passion will then be cooled.

Sisiwa may also be used to take revenge on a woman who refuses you her favours.

If you are angry with a woman because she will not have intercourse with you, powder a little *sisiwa* into the palm of your hand, get some food belonging to the woman, or some of her pepper-stick or areca-nut, sprinkle the powder on it, and give it to her to eat. On some pretext get a piece of it back from her, put a little more powder on it, and throw it into the fire. Then the woman will have sores come out on her skin. If she will not give you the piece back, you cannot make this medicine.

Magor is used thus:

To make a woman love you, chew some *magor* with the betel-mixture, remaining silent the while. Spit out the mixture in the direction of the woman you want while you are both dancing. She will then come and take hold of you, and will desire you.

This was the medicine made by Pinari to obtain the affection of Gomar, and by Pasab for Erut.

Another, more elaborate method, invokes the aid of the *urar* (spirits of the dead).

If you wish to make a woman desire you, you can make this medicine.

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832 The morning you intend to do this you must not have had sexual intercourse with anybody the night before. You must not defecate until after you have finished making the medicine. Both these are very strong taboos. You must not go with all the other men to the beach when they get up. You must get up alone, at dawn, when all the other people are still asleep. Take some *magor* with you into the bush, cut a piece of the [824] stem of the creeper *karavetan* (a parasitic plant with a thick juicy stem, unidentified). Hang it up on a tree. Clean it well with your knife. Get ready to call out the name of the woman you want. Cut the piece of stem in two with your knife, with one sharp stroke, at the same time calling out quickly the name of the woman. Then rub *magor* on the cut end and drink the sap that runs out, mixed with the *magor*. Then spit it out, and say:

'*Kuvian sen its imoin me mon owa, ne en ton rēs wē ma ia ini pio.*'
'Kuvian' (the name of the *urar*), 'you copulate first with this woman and then you bring her and give her to me.'

You must not go straight to the woman, but wait for a time when all the people have gone to the bush to work. When you want to go to her, take a leaf of *karavetan* and heat it in the fire, then press it on your eyes. Then take the leaf and hang it up in your hut, in the rafters over your bed. As the leaf withers, the woman will think of you, and then when she sees you she will desire you.

This is a very secret thing. It must not be told to every one. Most [437 424] people do not know it. If I wish I can tell it to a member of my own clan. If men of another clan wish to know it, they pay very highly for it, with *beroan* and paint and axes and knives.

Another form of magic was given to the man who told it to me, by his own particular *urar*, Butchiar, in a dream. He said he had tried it on a certain woman, and it worked very well. He asked me not to tell it to any of his own people, or to let them know that he had given it to me.

First call on the *urar* Butchiar, and say these words:
'*Butchiar tar na pi mon arawa, rēs ka ma ne, rēs me mon, io mayin no ia.*'
'Butchiar, look at that woman there, bring her, bring the woman, I want her.'

Then watch till you see the woman eating. As she takes a mouthful, say: '*Kalat!*' As she chews, say: '*Dami!*' As she swallows, say: '*Kunom!*' (The man could give no meaning for these words, he said he got them from the *urar*.) This talk will turn the woman's belly to you, and she will think about you. She will ask you for water, but you must not give her any, you must run away from her.

When she goes to sleep the next night she will see you, and will think

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you want her to get up. In the morning she will say to you: 'Oh, I could not sleep last night, I saw you standing up in front of me, I can't think of my husband any more, I think about you only. I think you gave me some medicine?' You must say: 'No, I did not go near you, I did not run about in the night.' She will say: 'Never mind, I want to leave my husband now, I like you too much.' 832

If you want the affair to finish, you take two plants, *rakot* and *rurupari*. Squeeze the leaf of *rurupari* with some water and give it to the woman to drink, and make her eat some of the stem of *rakot*. Then she will sleep well at night and will not think of you any more. But if she likes you very much she may refuse to take this medicine, and then you can do nothing. [824]

Many of these 'prescriptions' are carried out without invoking the help of the *urur*. The methods vary. Some typical ones run as follows:

Take some leaves of the plant *warunon* (unidentified) and squeeze them together in your hand. Ask the woman you want to give you some water, this she will bring in a coco-nut shell. Put the squeezed leaves into the coco-nut shell, and drink the water. Then scrape off the skin of the long root of the same plant and chew it with the betel-mixture. Throw away part of the skin in the place where the woman is. This you must do when no one is looking. Swallow some of the chewed mixture. Next time there is a dance, take a piece of the root and put it in your hair. Then go and dance before the other men start. The woman will come and dance too. When you stop, she will stop too. The next day she will say to you: 'What have you been doing to me?' You must answer: 'Nothing.' She will say: 'Oh, I like you so much. Let us have intercourse.' So the two of you will go to the bush, and you will have intercourse with her, and by and by she will have a child, and then you two will be married. [824]

Take a drinking coco-nut (*mayur*) and a dry coco-nut (*makas*). Scrape the meat of both, and mix the scrapings together. This mixture is called *kariur*. Take the leaf-buds of *nik* (the betel-pepper) and wrap them up in leaves. Make the bundle hot. Go to the beach, dip the hot bundle in the sea, and rub it over your body. Chew some of the *nik* leaves. Climb a tree, and fix a package of *kariur* to the branches. As the wind rustles in the tree the woman will desire you. [824]

When you go to a dance, first get some of the roots of the tree *wapindi* and chew them. Light a torch (made of coco-nut palm leaves) and spit the chewed roots on to it. Lay another piece of root on top of the burning torch and let the two burn together. When you see the woman you want, throw the torch towards her. If she takes it and warms herself [824] [372]

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832 with it, she will warm towards you, and will go and wait for you in the bush, you will go after her and have intercourse with her.

Some of these 'medicines' are directed towards the very practical end of making the person attractive. They frequently take the form of a package wrapped up in a leaf, containing a mixture of bits of dried leaves, sticks, bark, &c., to be soaked in coco-nut oil before use, and intended to be rubbed on the skin before meeting with the object of one's affections. Some of them may be used by either sex to attract the other, but one, a sample of which was brought to me in great secrecy, was accompanied by the information that it was taboo for women to see this preparation. Another form of magic which may be used by both sexes, is to wrap up the leaves of any one of certain plants, most of which possess aromatic properties, in the form of a cigar, which is given to the coveted partner; as it is smoked, desire is engendered. One man told me he paid 10*s*. (in our money) to the mountain people for a mixture to make a woman want to marry him. He did not know what was in it, but was told to chew it before he went to the woman.

[435]

789 The use of *sisiwa* 'to spite a woman who refuses her favours' has already been mentioned. Another method of taking revenge is as follows:

[824] If the woman you want goes to another man, chew the root of *sisiŋ* (a species of croton) with the betel-mixture, spit some of the mixture on to your toe, and kick the woman. Then spit some more on to a *sisiŋ* leaf and strike the woman with it, then bury it under a fire. The effect of this will be to make the woman menstruate all the time, so that your rival cannot enjoy her.

832 A curious way of taking revenge upon a woman for the misdeeds of her brother, the only 'prescription' of its kind in my collection, is directed against a man who has seduced the sister of the individual who uses it. It comes from Petats.

[824] Go to the bush and break off a joint of the stem of the plant *ŋgalaŋgala* (Petats dialect), at the same time calling the name of the woman, and saying:

'*Tor i mulo takots nan.*' ('May your belly be no good.')

Call your own name also. Then take the bit of stem and fasten it over your bed, where the wind will catch it and make it rustle. This will cause a rumbling in the woman's belly. At night you must get up and clap your hands, turning towards this piece of stem. At that moment the woman will wake up and feel ill, and will think of you. In the morning

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you must not go near her. She will be unhappy because of you, and will not be able to eat. Next day she will climb a tree and call out to all the men to find you and fight you, because you have scorned her. She will say: 'Why does he run away from me, I want him.' Then she will want you so much that she will go to your hut. (This is a grave breach of etiquette.) Her brother will be very angry, and will come to you and ask why you have done this to his sister. Then you will tell him it is because he seduced your sister.

This magic must be taught to no one except the possessor's sister's son.

I could never learn of any medicine to be used by a woman for taking revenge on a man who had abandoned her. It was noteworthy that, although some of the magic connected with love-making was known to and used by women, the great majority of my informants on this subject were men, the women seeming neither to know nor to care so much about this means of attracting a partner as the men did. Perhaps they feel more sure of the efficacy of their own personal charms. However that may be, it is certain that lovers are not lacking to any woman who wants them.

A woman desiring sexual intercourse with a man who does not make advances to her will, when opportunity arises, lie down in his presence with her legs apart, a position otherwise regarded as indecent. The word *payan* means to adopt it deliberately for this purpose. If a women exposes her genitals, even unwittingly, as in sleep, the situation is liable to be taken advantage of by any man whose passions may thereby be aroused. Both types of incident figure frequently in my collection of tales, as well as in village gossip. The proper behaviour for a woman is to sit or lie with her legs stretched out in front of her, keeping them close together. This is still the rule, although every adult now wears a loin-cloth. A young man once brought his little son, aged about three, to play on my verandah. The child sat down with his legs straight out, and another man immediately began to laugh. When I asked what the joke was, he said that the baby was sitting down like a girl.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The people say there was a time when they had no knowledge of the sexual act, but men copulated with women at their armpits, and it was thought that the female genitalia were intended to provide them with lime in which to dip their areca-nut. The proper way to do it was taught first to the people of Tsiraun (Nissan), by

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881 The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the
514 *wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies,
621 which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinēv*, to give food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry home with them.

REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATA-WUTʃ* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

882 Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman
689 lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule
[266] would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

882 They may not sit on the *babots* (women's verandah) or go round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

882 It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge
834 in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants
684 were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be.
882 But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed,
832 with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

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I was alone on my verandah, one of the *upi* boys—a lad whom I should judge to be somewhere in his middle teens—came up, and with great secrecy, looking carefully round to make sure he was not observed, produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a bundle of leaves, tied up with fibre string. He said it contained a mixture used by men to gain the favours of a woman they desired. He asked me not to tell anybody that he had given it to me, because, as he was still wearing the *upi*, he was not supposed to have such things, and if the old men knew, they would 'make poison' against him and he would die. He had obtained it from a mountain native belonging to a distant village. It resembled, both in contents and in method of use, other 'medicines' of the same nature in my collection.

The boys are not under any restrictions as regards the discussion of sexual subjects. They contributed, at my 'story-telling evenings', stories and legends of sexual and non-sexual content in about the same proportions as did the other villagers.

Under no circumstances may any boy be seen by a woman without his *upi*. Strictly speaking, they are not supposed to take it off, except in the privacy of their *tobar*, but in practice they sometimes remove it when away in the bush, especially when they do anything liable to injure it. Shortly after I first came to Kurtatchi I was out with two of the older men and several of the *upi* boys. One of the men told a small boy to climb a coco-nut palm and get us some coco-nuts to drink, and to take off his *upi* before doing so. He looked at me with a frightened grimace, and refused. The older man told him that I was 'just the same as a man' and that it did not matter if I saw him without his *upi*. He was still unwilling to remove it, so another boy was sent up. He took off the hat, and a roll of black cloth which helped to keep it in place, laying both carefully under a bush. Two other boys were set to watch the path in both directions, in case any women should come in sight. They explained that the women did not know about the roll of cloth, which was put in because the boy's hair had not yet grown long enough to keep the *upi* in place. It was hardly down to his shoulders; they said it had not been growing very long. Before they had any cloth they used bundles of grass. If a man saw one of the boys with this roll showing, he would take the careless youth aside and tell him to go into the *tobar* and put his *upi* on properly.

In the olden days, if a woman saw a boy without his *upi* she

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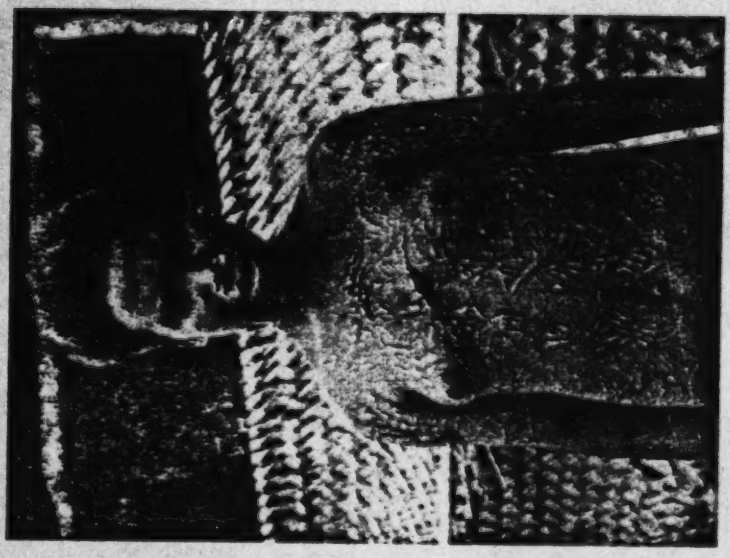
PLATE 69



b. BODY OF WOMAN (COMMONER)

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CICATRIZATION

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a. FACE

[facing p. 430]

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304 [85] The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.[1] On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It [832] is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman, she has good marks on her body".' Tapē (Pl. 69*b*) was mentioned —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

304 184 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville, as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus ϚϚ in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek, just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks. The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on much earlier than they themselves did.

304 The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70*b*), used on the [515] back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical [171] with that placed on the foreheads of the Araha (chiefly) clan among the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

304 *pipi*, general term for cicatrization.
192 *gom*, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.
lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70*b*).

lalōm

wabuin

[1] As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connexion with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivens (1927, p. 182).

natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

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with the man. The next day the man will say to the woman: 'I dreamed about you last night. My skin wants you.' Then if the woman is willing they go to the bush (implying that they have sexual intercourse there). 159 [195]

It was made clear in subsequent conversation that the speaker had in mind the occurrence of 'reciprocal dreams', in which both parties dreamed simultaneously of the other. A similar report was made by Sakwan of Pororan:

> Sometimes a man will dream of a woman; that he is sleeping with her and that they have sexual connexion. In the morning the man who has dreamed will go to the woman and say: 'I dreamed of you last night.' She will reply: 'Yes, I know, for I dreamed of you too.' Sometimes a woman will dream of a man in like manner, and the man will know that he has been dreamed of by that certain woman. (Notes supplied by Mr. Gordon Thomas.)

Both these accounts were given as generalized statements, not as actual dreams.

Persons other than the dreamer are involved also in the following, which appears to have been an actual dream, though not of the night before:

> Sometimes my dreams come true. Once I dreamed that a certain man went to the house of a certain girl and they walked about together with his arm round her neck. Afterwards I went to the man and told him the dream, and he said: 'True, I did walk about with my arm round the girl's neck.' He was very much ashamed that I had dreamed such a thing.
>
> *Comment by the recorder.* Etiquette forbids any show of affection between lovers in public. The couple in question were shortly afterwards married by the missionary. [576]

On one occasion, after my return from a trip during which I had left my native servant in charge of my house at Kurtatchi, he told me that during my absence the following incident had occurred:

> (No. 24) One night I thought I heard some one knocking on the wall of the house, and I got the torch to look, but there was no one to be seen. Then I went to sleep and dreamed a woman came under the house and knocked on the floor, and asked me to have intercourse with her, but I would not. Next day I found out that the people in the village were talking about me, and saying that women came to me at night. But that is not true, I do nothing but sleep at night.

The belief in the efficacy of certain 'prescriptions' involving dreams may be due to their use having been coincident with success 159 832

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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explicable along similar lines. The two which are here given were told to me in the course of my inquiries after plants powerful as 'medicine', and had no connexion whatever with any of our discussions on dreams.

To make a woman desire you

Rarakot (a grass with numbers of small sticky seeds).

Take the roots and some of the seeds when they are ripe. Chew them with the betel-mixture, go to the woman with this in your mouth and talk with her. When she has answered you, go away. At night the woman will dream of you. In the morning she will come and ask you: 'What have you done to me? I dreamed about you.' You say: 'No, I did nothing to you, but you and I talked together while I chewed something.' The woman dreams about you every night, and if she sleeps during the day she dreams about you again. By and by you two get married.

To make a woman visit you

Wadodowu (a small plant).

If you dream in the night that you have connexion with a woman, you get up at earliest dawn and get a leaf of this plant, rub it in your hands and wash it in a river; then go back to the village and the woman will come to you.

TYPE DREAMS

Of the 'type dreams' listed by Dr. Seligman (1923, p. 188, supplemented by letter) as common among the white races, my collection contains instances of all but one, the absence of which is easily explained. I have no evidence, however, that they bear in the Solomon Islands the meanings usually assigned to them in Europe, and also discovered in other parts of the world.

1. *Flying.* ('Usual meaning, good luck, success.')

Three examples. Also given as a dream that recurs. Sensation regarded as pleasant, but no definite meaning assigned to it, so far as I could ascertain.

2. *Fire.* ('May refer to reproduction or some form of creative energy.')

Only one example, in the course of a complex dream related by an old man (No. 13, p. 554). 'By and by I tried to light a fire but it would not burn.' The dream was regarded as a good one, but the relevant part of it was other than the fire.

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goûm. The men, moreover, have on the back of the neck a scarified figure consisting of straight, intersecting lines that is called goûm hahess, and a similar decoration on both shoulder blades, called murr. The scarification of women is much more extensive. In addition to the decorations of the men they also have scarified figures of the same pattern on their loins--called galagalan gessa or lagalagu--and on both ankles, called mouu. The scars are healed and made visible by rubbing burned ochre into the wounds.

The scarification of the individual parts of the body is undertaken in sequence. Only when one part has completely healed is another part of the body treated. After the completion of each part the artist (male or female) receives the traditional payment, and at the same time a festival with obligatory banquets is held.

The scarification is reputedly very painful. Probably as a consequence of this, not everyone feels the desire and inclination to submit to the procedure. In women a completely executed scarification is regarded by the men as a great ornament, and such girls [15] consequently are desired above others and obtain a higher purchase price. The women likewise seem to regard the scarification of the men as an attraction; it can also not be denied that the goûm of the men lends the face certain characteristic qualities that, in a wild and warlike people such as the islanders of the northwestern Solomon Islands are, causes the male face to appear particularly handsome. [832]

In addition to the scarification of the above-mentioned parts of the body, it is customary for many men of the Emperor Range also to scarify the chest from one armpit to the other. The pattern is quite similar to the one described above--namely parallel lines that intersect, forming rectangles and zigzag lines. However, it is rarely that you see a well-scarred pattern; whether this is because the mountain inhabitants do not understand the healing of the wounds so well as the coastal inhabitants or because they proceed less carefully--in any case, as a rule the scars are irregular and make the chest appear as though it had been hacked up in all directions by irregular knife cuts.